

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11
AID-05 CEA-01 COME-00 EB-08 FRB-03 STR-07 TRSE-00
LAB-04 SIL-01 OMB-01 ACDA-12 OPIC-03 /111 W
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R 281338Z APR 78
FM AMEMBASSY BONN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8138
INFO USMISSION USBERLIN
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USMISSION USNATO
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 BONN 07967

USEEC

E.O. 11652: GDS-1
TAGS: PGOV, BQG
SUBJECT: QUADRIpartite LUNCH MEETING

SUMMARY: THE APRIL 27 QUADRIpartite LUNCH MEETING
(WRIGHT, VAN WELL, BRUNET, DCM, WAS DEVOTED LARGELY TO
VAN WELL'S COMMENTS ON THE BREZHNEV VISIT TO THE FRG.
VAN WELL SAID THAT WHEREAS IN THE EARLIER STAGES OF
PREPARATION FOR THE VISIT, THE RUSSIANS STRESSED ECONOMIC
MATTERS, DISARMAMENT SEEMED NOW TO BE PLAYING AN
INCREASING ROLE. THREE DOCUMENTS ARE ENVISAGED -- AN
ECONOMIC COOPERATION AGREEMENT, A COMMUNIQUE, AND A
JOINT DECLARATION. THE RUSSIANS HAD PRESENTED A DRAFT
DECLARATION WITH WHAT THE GERMANS CONSIDERED EXCESSIVE
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BILATERAL CONTENT, AND THE FRG HAS PRESENTED A COUNTER
DRAFT. VAN WELL DID NOT BELIEVE THE BREZHNEV VISIT
WOULD AFFECT BERLIN MATTERS SIGNIFICANTLY. HE THREW
OUT IDEA OF A QUADRIpartite BERLIN STATEMENT
IN WASHINGTON NEXT MONTH WHICH MIGHT PICK UP ON A RECENT
GERMAN STATEMENT ABOUT THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE FRG
AND WEST BERLIN WHICH HAD MET WITH RUSSIAN APPROVAL.

END SUMMARY.

1. THE QUADRIPARTITE LUNCH WAS DEVOTED ALMOST EXCLUSIVELY TO VAN WELL'S COMMENTS ON BREZHNEV'S VISIT TO THE FRG (THE LUNCH BECAME TRIPARTITE EARLY ON WHEN BRUNET HAD TO LEAVE TO ACCOMPANY CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT ON A VISIT TO STRASSBURG). VAN WELL COVERED SEVERAL POINTS PREVIOUSLY REPORTED FROM VARIOUS SOURCES. THE RUSSIANS HAD INSISTED ON BUILDING INTO THE PROGRAM A NUMBER OF REST PERIODS FOR BREZHNEV. THERE WOULD BE ONLY TWO FORMAL MEALS, A GERMAN DINNER MAY 4, AND BREZHNEV'S RETURN LUNCH MAY 5. VAN WELL GAVE THE IMPRESSION THAT BOTH SIDES ATTACH SPECIAL IMPORTANCE TO BREZHNEV'S VISIT TO HAMBURG AS AN OPPORTUNITY FOR CLOSE DISCUSSION IN A RESTRICTED GROUP. HE NOTED THAT THE CHANCELLOR'S DINNER FOR BREZHNEV IN HIS PRIVATE RESIDENCE WILL BE FIVE ON EACH SIDE: THE GERMANS PRESENT WILL BE SCHMIDT, GENSCHER, APEL, LAMBSDORFF AND GERMAN AMBASSADOR TO RUSSIA, WIECK. VAN WELL SAID THE RUSSIANS HAD TOLD THE GERMANS THAT A BREZHNEV STOP IN EAST BERLIN AFTER THE FRG WAS NOT FORESEEN, BUT HE DID NOT EXCLUDE THAT THIS COULD CHANGE. WHILE HE IS IN BONN, BREZHNEV WILL HAVE SEPARATE MEETINGS WITH PARTY LEADERS -- BRANDT, KOHL, GENSCHER AND STRAUSS. BREZHNEV WILL ALSO MEET THE DKP LEADER, MIES, BUT THIS WILL NOT BE IN THE FRAMEWORK OF HIS MEETINGS WITH THE LEADERS OF THE

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PARTIES REPRESENTED IN THE BUNDESTAG.

2. VAN WELL SAID HERMES' DISCUSSIONS IN MOSCOW OF AN ECONOMIC COOPERATION AGREEMENT WERE GOING WELL, AND NO PROBLEMS ARE FORESEEN. THE AGREEMENT WOULD HAVE A TEN YEAR DURATION BUT WOULD "LOOK TO" A FURTHER FIFTEEN YEAR PERIOD, THAT IS BEYOND THE TURN OF THE CENTURY. FROM VAN WELL'S ACCOUNT, THE AGREEMENT SEEMS LARGELY A STATEMENT OF GENERAL PRINCIPLES AND DOES NOT DEAL WITH SPECIFIC AREAS IN A SPECIFIC WAY.

VAN WELL INDICATED THAT NEGOTIATION OF THE COMMUNIQUE WAS ALSO PRETTY WELL COMPLETED, BUT THE DISCUSSIONS ON THE JOINT DECLARATION ARE STILL CONTINUING. THE GERMANS HAD GIVEN THE RUSSIANS A LIST OF POINTS FOR POSSIBLE INCLUSION IN THE DECLARATION. THE RUSSIANS HAD COME BACK WITH A RELATIVELY SHORT DRAFT WHICH HAD A BILATERAL FLAVOR THE GERMANS CONSIDERED EXCESSIVE, AND THEY HAD PRESENTED NEW LANGUAGE TO THE RUSSIANS.

3. VAN WELL SAID THE RUSSIANS LATELY HAVE BEEN STRESSING DISARMAMENT IN CONNECTION WITH THE BREZHNEV

VISIT, WHEREAS IN THE EARLIER STAGES ECONOMIC TOPICS
HAD DOMINATED. THE GERMANS ARE INTERESTED IN
INDICATIONS THEY HAVE GOTTEN OF RUSSIAN INTEREST IN

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IN MOVING MBFR ALONG. FALIN TALKED WITH VAN WELL
IN THIS SENSE IN THE LAST DAY OR SO, BUT IT WAS NOT
CLEAR WHAT THE RUSSIANS HAVE IN MIND. CHANCELLOR
SCHMIDT INTENDS TO PUT THE POINT TO BREZHNEV STRONGLY
ABOUT DISPARITIES BETWEEN THE WARSAW PACT AND NATO
FORCES ON THE CENTRAL FRONT AS GROUNDS FOR RUSSIAN
MOVEMENT IN VIENNA.

4. VAN WELL SAID THERE WAS NO INDICATION OF RUSSIAN
WILLINGNESS TO MEET GERMAN WISHES ON THE OUTSTANDING
BERLIN AGREEMENTS. THE POSITIONS OF THE TWO SIDES WERE
UNCHANGED FROM PREVIOUS EXCHANGES, AND HE DID NOT
ANTICIPATE THE BREZHNEV VISIT WOULD BRING ANY BREAK-
THROUGH. ON THE OTHER HAND, HE BELIEVED THE RUSSIANS

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DO NOT WANT TO HAVE TROUBLE IN BERLIN. VAN WELL THREW OUT AN IDEA, WHICH HE SEEMED TO BE TURNING OVER IN HIS OWN MIND, OF A QUADRIPARTITE STATEMENT ON BERLIN IN WASHINGTON NEXT MONTH, WHICH WOULD IN EFFECT AMOUNT TO A RESTATEMENT OF A DECLARATION MADE LAST NOVEMBER BY MINISTER OF STATE VON DOHNANYI IN ANSWER TO A PARLIAMENTARY QUESTION. THIS DECLARATION, THE SENSE OF WHICH WAS THAT BERLIN IS NOT A CONSTITUENT PART OF THE FRG, AND THE RESERVED RIGHTS OF THE THREE POWERS ARE SUPERIMPOSED ON THE GERMAN CONSTITUTIONAL LAW SITUATION IN RESPECT OF BERLIN (1977 BONN 20577), WAS WELL RECEIVED BY THE RUSSIANS. VAN WELL SEEMED TO HAVE IN MIND HOLDING OUT FOR THE RUSSIANS DURING THE BREZHNEV VISIT THE POSSIBILITY OF SUCH A QUADRIPARTITE STATEMENT AN INDUCEMENT TO THEM TO CONTINUE THEIR PRESENT RESTRAINED POLICY ON BERLIN. HE ADDED THAT HE REALIZED, OF COURSE, THAT THE GERMANS COULD NOT COMMIT THE ALLIES IN ANY WAY TO SUCH A STATEMENT. HE ALSO WAS AWARE OF THE TIME PRESSURES, WHICH MADE IT UNLIKELY THAT AN EXERCISE OF THE KIND HE MENTIONED COULD BE MOUNTED IN TIME FOR THE WASHINGTON MEETING.

5. VAN WELL SAID SCHMIDT INTENDS TO RAISE THE MATTER OF INTERFERENCE BY RUSSIAN MILITARY PATROLS IN WEST BERLIN WITH SCHEEL'S MOTORCADE DURING THE LATTER'S RECENT VISIT. SCHMIDT WOULD NOT DISCUSS THE PATROLS AS SUCH, BUT WOULD SAY THE GERMANS EXPECT THAT THEIR CHIEF OF STATE WILL BE TREATED WITH NORMAL COURTESY WHEREVER HE APPEARS. ON ANOTHER BERLIN TOPIC, FRG CONSULAR REPRESENTATION OF WEST BERLINERS, VAN WELL RECALLED THAT HONECKER IN A CONVERSATION WITH SCHMIDT AT HELSINKI HAD MADE THE GDR ATTITUDE CONDITIONAL ON THE RUSSIAN POSITION. IN PRACTICAL TERMS, FRG REPRESENTATION

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OF WEST BERLINERS IN THE GDR WAS INFINITELY MORE IMPORTANT THAN IN THE USSR. VAN WELL INDICATED THAT THE GERMANS WOULD TRY TO GET SOME POSITIVE MOVEMENT FROM THE RUSSIANS ON THIS ISSUE DURING THE BREZHNEV VISIT. THE DCM ASKED WHAT HE THOUGHT THE FORM OF ANY ARRANGEMENT MIGHT BE, NOTING THAT ANYTHING PURPORTING TO BE AN INTERPRETATION OF THE QA BY A NON-SIGNATORY IS A DELICATE MATTER, PARTICULARLY IN LIGHT OF GDR PRETENSIONS TO SUCH A ROLE. VAN WELL SAID THE FRG IS

AWARE OF THIS PROBLEM. HE THOUGHT A SUITABLE FORM MIGHT
BE SOME KIND OF UNILATERAL RUSSIAN STATEMENT WHICH THE
GERMANS COULD TAKE NOTE OF, IN SOME WAY STILL TO BE
DETERMINED.

6. THE ONLY NON-BREZHNEV VISIT TOPIC OF INTEREST WAS
ON THE NATIONALSTIFTUNG ISSUE. VAN WELL ASKED FOR AN
ALLIED RESPONSE TO THE "INTERIM SOLUTION" IN GOOD TIME
FOR SCHMIDT'S MEETING WITH THE MINISTERS PRESIDENT
OF THE LAENDER ON MAY 12.
STOESSEL

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